1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20



*gigas*), *tucunaré* (*Cichla* sp.), *cachorra* (*Eynedon hydrocyon*, Cast.), or *ereeá* (*Leporinus* sp.). These last two are forbidden because they eat leaves. The same prohibition holds for the honey of the wild bee, *jandaíra*, and for *muxiua*, the edible larvae of Coleoptera.

The planter of maize must not touch any fish stupefacient (*timbó*) or blood, or any object the color of blood; if he should touch urucú or *genipapo*, the maize would turn red or black. One day, an Indian who had planted maize brought me a fish, a tucunaré. Later, the leaves of the maize he had planted turned yellow. To undo the evil effects of the broken taboo he had to wash his hands and arms with *envira de matamatá*, because they had touched the fish, and had to bind his arms and legs with strips of the same liana.

If a pregnant woman plants maize, the plant also becomes "enceinte," and it will produce twin ears.

Contrary to the statements of Tessmann's informants,[1] these Tukuna cultivate the peanut (manduví) just as much as the sweet potato; of the latter they raise two special types, one for the brewing of beer (*chicha*), one as a component of curare. The cultivation of the first type is post-Columbian, according to some of my informants, but the second is undoubtedly aboriginal.

They also say that a stunted type of sugar cane was "already in Deer's vatu'." The cane is little cultivated. To extract the juice it is crushed first with a club and then twisted, in the way Tessmann has described.

The banana, today of considerable economic importance, is post-Columbian, but its culture dates back several centuries. The most common varieties are poi' (large), iru' (small), and the nyëëta'rë poi' or guariba monkey banana, so called because of its red color.

Even today the Tukuna do not plant either kidney beans or broad beans. The malagueta pepper is of recent introduction; formerly only one type of pepper was known—a small, round, yellow pepper called mu'nëru ("grasshopper's head"; më'ë, generic name of peppers).

Four other plants with edible roots are cultivated in the clearings: e'ru (*ariá*; *Maranta lutea* Jacq.), also cultivated by the Neobrazilians and formerly extensively planted; maikura'ki (*maikúra*, sweet) or dya'matịna (l.g.?), the tubercles of which have a sweet taste; nakị-čane ("penis of tapir"), said to be cultivated by the Kokáma also; and a:'tatị, which is occasionally planted by the Neobrazilians of the region.[2]

Cotton (tẹ) was formerly planted more widely than today, but now one finds only a few isolated stands in the clearings, and many Indians no longer plant any at all. Cotton fell into disuse after purchased cloth began to be used for the feminine apron, *tanga*, which was originally the main product of Tukuna weavers. Other articles once made of cotton are now made of tucum fibers, such as bands for arm and leg and the sling (*tipoia*) for carrying children.

In 1941 I met with considerable difficulty in acquiring two spindles (tẹ-či'vanẹ[a]) for the ethnographic collection at Belém do Pará. The shaft is topped by a small knob; the whorl, of turtle shell (*tracajá*, turtle; *Podocnemis* sp.), or of wood, is placed on the shaft from above.

[1] Tessmann, p. 560.
[2] Only *ariá* is identified.—Trans.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20



For the deer that invade the plantations, pitfalls (a:'ma|ⁿ) are dug to the depth of a meter and a half, a sharpened paxiuba stake being set vertically at the bottom. In a pitfall that I saw, a dog had died, and a few days later an alligator also fell into it. 224

## Gathering

The gathering of wild fruits and the capture of animals that cannot properly be included under hunting are still carried on by both sexes; by men when the opportunity presents itself and by women on trips made for the purpose. 222 [462]

There are many varieties of edible wild fruits, although most have no economic importance, being no more than mere tidbits, like the pods of the *arara tucupy*, the seeds of which are covered with a thin layer of thick, sweet liquid. The only fruits of real economic importance are those of the four palms, burity (*Mauritia vinifera*), *bacabeira* (*Oenocarpus bacaba*), *patauá* (*Oenocarpus patauá*), and açahy (*Euterpe* sp.). All four species are common in the jungles of the Tukuna. During the period of gathering one always sees large earthenware vessels containing burity fruits soaked in a solution to make the rinds come off more easily, and the Indians constantly help themselves. The fruits of these four palms are then macerated in tepid water and a fatty drink is prepared by a process common among the Neobrazilians as well, the separation of the pulp from the stones by treading. The liquid is passed through a very fine sieve (va'iri-činĵ-|ⁿn, from va'ira, açahy). A sufficient quantity is then prepared so that the neighbors may be invited to drink also. The gathering of the fruits and the preparation of the beverage are feminine tasks. 222 824 262 [415] 272 [171] [462]

The Tukuna are acquainted with the Brazil nut, or niggertoe, *castanha do Pará* (*Bertholletia excelsa*), but they eat only the kernels without preparing from them either milk or oil. Nino, an Indian of Igarapé da Rita, had planted near his house about ten such saplings, which were then bearing fruit. 262 [245]

The Tukuna will not eat toads, though they do not reject various species of frogs; they also eat beetle larvae, which are found in burity palms, and the queens of *saúva* ants (l.g. *içá; Atta cephalotes*) when they are swarming. Of the various kinds of honey the most appreciated is that of the wild bee, jandaíra. Bees are not raised at home. [263]

## Food

The most common food is fish, either boiled or freshly smoked and eaten with farinha (formerly with beijús). Seasoning is obtained by thrusting the fingertip into a small dish with crushed salt and pepper and then licking it. At present, the salt is bought from the Neobrazilians, but it is said that in the old days it was prepared from the ash from burned green marajá palm leaves. 262 [263] [439]

Of fish, the Indian takes only as much as he can swallow at one gulp, picking it, with a rapid pinch of the fingers, from the common receptacle. In consequence, the piece of fish shortly assumes such a tattered appearance that it looks like nothing more than a dog's dinner. 264

When there is roast game, no one cuts himself a large piece, but each in turn seizes the meat, tears off a chunk with the teeth, and tosses the remainder back

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main *Tucuna* crops are bitter manioc, sweet manioc (macaxera), cara (*Dioscorea*), and maize. The last is planted with some ceremony. There are also at least three species of edible tubers which are not used by civilized people.

226 227 **Fishing and hunting.**—Fish, of great importance to the *Tucuna*, are taken with four- to nine-pronged javelins, arrows, harpoon arrows, baskets, weirs, traps, and a drug made of timbó. The Indians fish almost daily from childhood. On the Solimões, they are expert fishers of pirarucú, an important article of commerce.

224 177 411 Hunting today is unimportant, since game has been depleted to fill the demand for hides. The *Tucuna* now use firearms, but formerly employed the bow and arrow, spear, and blowgun. They also use pitfalls and several types of snares and traps. The blowgun, once the principal weapon, is disappearing.

222 262 [245] **Gathering.**—The wild burity, bacaba, pataúá, and açahy palms are of great economic value. Some *Tucuna* plant Brazil nut trees near their houses. They eat certain frogs, Coleoptera larvae, and female red ants at hiving time. They like wild honey but keep no bees.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—The *Tucuna* raise a few chickens, but do not want hogs or other domestic animals because they dirty the premises. They keep young wild mammals and birds uncaged.

412 252 [177] [434] **Food preparation.**—Instead of a mortar, the *Tucuna* use a trough with a half-moon-shaped rocker of thick and heavy wood. The making of manioc flour, introduced by the Neo-Brazilians, became one of the principal sources of income among the *Tucuna*.

### HOUSES

342 The old houses had a small rectangular central portion with a short ridge pole mounted on props. Each end was semicircular, so that the ground plan was oval or nearly round. The walls were of a man's height, and were made of boards of paxiuba or of straw. The house could be sealed tight against mosquitoes. Families occupied the lateral corridors, the central space being reserved for ceremonies. All houses were spacious and well built.

177 342 352 513 The introduction of mosquito nets made house walls unnecessary. People slept on bunks along the walls, covered with mosquito nets, instead of in hammocks. Many houses were built without the semicircular extremities but with a longer central part, being like an open rectangular ranch house with a ridge pole. When the tribe occupied the flood plains of the shores and islands, they built houses on piles.